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C O R R E C T E D C O P Y F O R M R N O N L Y, V I C E 3409

E. O.: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, US, FR

SUBJ: NIXON- POMPIDOU SUMMIT AGENDA: ITEM I REVITALIZED ATLANTIC
PARTNERSHIP

REF: PARIS 11891

1. POMPIDOU' S AIM OF DEVELOPING A EUROPE " DIFFERENTIATED" FROM
THE US PRESENTS A MAJOR CHALLENGE TO OUR EFFORTS TO DEVELOP A
NEW ATLANTIC CHARTER AND A REVITALIZED ATLANTIC PARTNERSHIP.
IN ORDER TO OBTAIN FRENCH SUPPORT FOR OUR PROPOSAL, WE MUST
CONVINCE POMPIDOU THAT:

A. WE BELIEVE THE DEVELOPMENT OF A EUROPEAN UNION AND THE
DEVELOPMENT OF A NEW ATLANTIC RELATIONSHIP ARE INTER- RELATED
AND NOT CONTRADICTORY;

B. IN SEEKING TO ADJUST TRANS- ATLANTIC TIES TO THE
REALITIES OF THE 1970' S, WE ARE NOT SEEKING TO STIFLE EUROPE' S
OWN INTERNAL DEVELOPMENT OR CIRCUMSCRIBE EUROPE' S GLOBAL ROLE;

C. IN ARGUING THAT EUROPE' S AUTONOMY SHOULD NOT BE AN
END IN ITSELF, WE ARE IN EFFECT CALLING UPON THE NATIONS OF
EUROPE TO WIDEN THEIR COLLECTIVE HORIZONS BEYOND THE DEVELOP-
MENT OF EUROPE AND TO RECOGNIZE THAT EUROPE' S GROWING RELATIVE
POWER CARRIES WITH IT GROWING RESPONSIBILITIES IN SUCH GLOBAL
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SECRET

PAGE 02 PARIS 13409 161045 Z

AREAS AS DEVELOPING A MORE LIBERAL WORLD TRADING SYSTEM AND A MORE RATIONAL INTERNATIONAL MONETARY SYSTEM;

D. IN NOTING THAT A LINK EXISTS IN REALITY AMONG TRANS-ATLANTIC POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SECURITY RELATIONS WE ARE SUGGESTING POLITICAL LEADERS DEVELOP A UNIFYING FRAMEWORK TO UNDERSCORE THAT A POLITICAL WILL EXISTS TO RESOLVE SPECIFIC CONTENTIOUS ISSUES. WE ARE NOT ASKING THAT ALL OF THESE ISSUES BE RESOLVED IN THE SAME FORUM.

2. POMPIDOU BELIEVES EUROPE CANNOT FORM ITS OWN UNION IF US INFLUENCE CONSTITUTES WHAT HE CONSIDERS " INTERFERENCE" IN EUROPE' S INTERNAL AFFAIRS. HENCE, HIS OPPOSITION TO CLOSER US- EC STRUCTURAL TIES AND HIS VIEW THAT EUROPE MUST DEVELOP GREATER INTERNAL UNITY BEFORE IT CAN DEAL WITH THE US AS AN EQUAL. CONCERN THAT THE US MAY SET A HIGHER PRIORITY ON DEVELOPING A SYSTEM OF STABILITY WITH THE SOVIETS THAN ON STRENGTHENING TRANS- ATLANTIC TIES IS ANOTHER COMPLICATING FACTOR IN HIS VIEW OF THE US- EUROPEAN EQUATION.

3. WE BELIVE, HOWEVER, THAT POMPIDOU HAS NOT FIRMLY DECIDED ON WHAT THE TRANS- ATLANTIC RELATIONSHIP SHOULD BE ONCE " EUROPEAN UNION" EXISTS. HIS RESERVED BUT BASICALLY OPEN-MINDED INITIAL PUBLIC RESPONSE TO OUR PROPOSALS UNDERSCORES THIS LIKELIHOOD. THIS FACTOR, COUPLED WITH POMPIDOU' S APPARENT UNCERTAINTY RE THE ULTIMATE FORM OF THE " EUROPEAN UNION" HE HAS PROPOSED, PROVIDES US WITH A POTENTIAL MEANS FOR BRIDGING DIFFERENCES IN BROAD US AND FRENCH POLICY IN THIS AREA.

4. AS SEEN FROM PARIS, FOUR MAIN THEMES COULD UNDERLIE THE DISCUSSION OF FUTURE TRANS- ATLANTIC TIES WITH POMPIDOU AND HIS TEAM:

A. WE BELIEVE A STRONG UNITED EUROPE IS IN OUR MUTUAL INTEREST. WE AGREE WITH FRANCE THAT ONLY WITH THE DEVELOPMENT OF SUCH A EUROPE CAN OUR REVITALIZED ATLANTIC PARTNERSHIP TRULY TAKE FORM. THERE IS NO NECESSARY CONTRADICTION, THEREFORE, BETWEEN OUR EFFORTS TO REVITALIZE THE ATLANTIC RELATIONSHIP AND FRANCE' S INTEREST IN BUILDING A EUROPE WHICH IS NOT " SUBSERVIENT" TO THE US.

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PAGE 03 PARIS 13409 161045 Z

B. WE ASSUME FRANCE SHARES OUR BASIC PREMISE THAT IMPROVED TRANS- ATLANTIC COOPERATION SHOULD BE A COMMON GOAL AND THAT TRANS- ATLANTIC CONFRONTATION IS A COMMON SOURCE OF DANGER TO OUR MUTUAL ECONOMIC WELL- BEING AND SECURITY.

C. ACCORDINGLY, IN BARGAINING ON SPECIFIC ISSUES, WE MUST

BE CAREFUL NOT, TO FORECLOSE ANY OPTIONS REGARDING THE
FUTURE FORM OF US- EUROPEAN RELATIONS.

D. OUR PROPOSAL TO JOIN WITH EUROPE IN REVITALIZING OUR
ATLANTIC RELATIONSHIP, OUR CONTINUED SUPPORT OF THE ALLIANCE
AND THE VERY FACT OF MEETING WITH EUROPE' S LEADERS CLEARLY
SHOW THE CAPITAL IMPORTANCE WE ATTACH TO US- EUROPEAN RELA-
TIONS. OUR EFFORTS TO NORMALIZE RELATIONS WITH THE USSR AND
STRENGTHEN EUROPEAN STABILITY COMPLEMENTS OUR EFFORTS TO
BUILD A REALISTIC ATLANTIC PARTNERSHIP.
IRWIN

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